

Relative clauses in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak)¹

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Introduction

Head noun, domain nominal, or NP_{mat} as the domain of relativization is typically understood as being stated fully, as a full-fledged NP (Keenan and Comrie 1977; Andrews 2007; Sansò 2010). *Light* heads in relative clauses include demonstrative, indefinite, and negative polarity pronouns; class terms, classifiers, plural number markers, and pronominal person clitics (Epps 2009; Citko 2004:97-98). *Common argument* (CA): “the binding element” of a RC construction; functions as an argument within the underlying structure of MC and RC. At the level of surface realization, CA may be stated in its fullest form within the MC, or within the RC, or in both, or in neither” (Dixon 2010:317). To capture variability of heads in Ashéninka Perené relative clauses, the study examines the following: (i) What are the relativization strategies in Ashéninka? (ii) What is allowed as the head of an NP which functions as CA in MC? (iii) How do the study’s findings contribute to the cross-linguistic typology of relatives?

1 The *ri-/ni*-relativization strategy

When *ri-/ni*-strategy applies, the relative markers *=ri* or *=ni* are used to mark RC; the domain nominal is typically stated fully; there is no overt reference to the role of the relativized element within the RC; only core constituents are relativized (A, S, O); relativization of non-locative obliques is possible when they are promoted to the direct object status (e.g. via applicative derivation).

HEADED

SUBJECT (REALIS)

- (1) *Tzimatsi isorarotepaye katziyavintariri, aminatsiri.*

[tzimatsi **i=soraro-te-paye**]_{MC} [katziya-viNt-a=**ri=ri**]_{RC1} [amin-atsi=**ri**]_{RC2}

EXIST **3m.poss=soldier-poss-PL** stand-BEN-REAL=3M.O=**REL** see-STAT=**REL**

‘Apiinka had his soldiers who were standing guard on his behalf and watching over.’

SUBJECT (IRREALIS)

- (2) *Irotaki nosaatantari manstiyaripatsaini pokatsini haka novankokika.*

[irotaki no=saat-aNt-a=**ri** **mantsiya-ri-patsa-ini**]_{MC}

FOC 1SG.A=**bathe.in.hot.water-INST-REAL=REL** **be.sick-ADJ-small.part-DIM**

[pok-atsi=**ni** haka no=vaNko-ki=**ka**]_{RC}

come-STAT=**REL** here 1SG.POSS=house-LOC=DEM

‘With this I treat the sickly little things who will be coming here to this house.’

OBJECT (REALIS)

- (3) *Ovanitavahiri vatsatsi yamahiri oime.*

[o=v-anii-t-av-ah-i=**ri** **vatsatsi**]_{MC}[y=am-ah-i=**ri**]

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3N-M.S=CAUS-go-EP-DIR-REGR-REAL=3m.O **meat** 3M.S=bring-REGR-REAL=**REL**
o=ime]_{RC}

3N.-M.POSS=husband

‘The wife unloaded the meat which her husband had brought.’

OBJECT (IRREALIS)

- (4) *Naminaitzi ovarintsi novyaari.*

[n=amin-a-it-tz-i **ovarintsi**]_{MC} [n=ov-ia=**ri**]_{RC}
1SG.S=look.for-EP-ICPL-EP-REAL **food** 1SG.A=eat-IRR=**REL**

‘I am looking for something edible which I will eat.’

INSTRUMENTAL OBLIQUE

- (5) *Amenatyero maakinapaye ovametantatziri.*

[amen-aty-e=ro **maakina-paye**]_{MC} [o=vamet-aNt-atz-i=**ri**]_{RC}
look.at-PROG-IRR=3N-M.O machine-PL 3N-M.S=teach-INST-PROG-REAL=**REL**

‘She will be looking at the [sewing] machines with which she teaches [which she uses in her teaching].’

HEADLESS

SUBJECT

- (6) *Tekatsi nyaashirinkapahaini.*

[**tekatsi**]_{MC} [nyaashiriNk-ap-ah=ai=**ni**]_{RC}

NEG.EXIST annoy-DIR-REGR=1PL.O=**REL**

‘There won’t be anybody who will bother us.’

OBJECT

- (7) *Maatsi namakiri inkaranki aka.*

[**tzimatsi**]_{MC} [n=am-ak-i=**ri** iNkaraNki aka]_{RC}

EXIST 1SG.A=bring-PRF-REAL=**REL** recently here

‘I have [something] which I brought here recently.’

3 Other relativization strategies (the tsika-strategy and the paratactic strategy)

When strategies apply, the relativizers =*ri* or =*ni* are not used to mark RC. Specifically, the *tsika*-strategy is used to relativize locative obliques. When the paratactic strategy is utilized, the relativized element in the second clause (C₂) is restricted to subject function; the relativized element is formally expressed; no gapping is attested.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN *TSIKA*-STRATEGY

HEADLESS ([I saw]_{MC} [*what* he wanted]_{RC} (Comrie and Smith 1977:14))

LOCATIVE OBLIQUE

- (8) *Onyii tsika okameetsatzi osaiki.*

[o=ny-i]_{MC} [**tsika** o=kameetsa-tz-i o=saik-e]_{RC}

3N-M.S=see-REAL **WH** 3N-M.S=be.good-EP-REAL 3N-M.S=be.at-IRR

‘She was looking where [for a place in which] it is nice to stay.’

HEADED

LOCATIVE OBLIQUE

- (9) *Yantashitakina tantotsi tsika nosaiki.*

[y=aNt-ashi-t-ak-i=na **taNtotsi**]_{MC} [**tsika** no=saik-i]_{RC}

3M.A=make-APPL.INT-EP-PRF-REAL=1SG.O **corral WH** 1SG.S=be.at-REAL

‘My father made for me a corral where [in which] I stayed.’

THE PARATACTIC STRATEGY

The paratactic strategy involves ‘MC’ and ‘RC’, loosely joined together; the ‘relative’ clause is the same as an unmarked simple declarative clause (Kuteva & Comrie 2005:212-3).

SUBJECT

- (10) *Ponya oyatanakiro irokave nihaaka ikantaitziro Paukartambo.*

[ponya oya-t-an-ak-i=ro iroka=ve **nihaa=ka**]_{C1}
 then 3N-M.A.follow-EP-DIR-PRF-REAL=3N-M.O DEM=EXCL **river=DEM**
 [i=kaNt-ai-tz-i=ro Paukartambo]_{C2}
 3M.A=say-IMP.P-REAL=3N-M.O river’s.name
 ‘She followed this river which is called Paukartambo.’

SUBJECT

- (11) *Nokokovavetari oka, osheki te ontenate.*

no=kokov~av-a-ve-t-a=ri **oka**]_{MC}[osheki te o=N-tena-t-e]_{RC}
 1SG.A=want~DIR-EP-FRUS-EP-REAL=3M.O DEM much NEG 3N-M.S=IRR-weigh-EP-IRR
 ‘I prefer strongly this, which doesn’t weigh much.’

4 Possibilities for the statement of head NP in MC

The domain nominal can be expressed by *full* heads (common and proper nouns); *reduced* heads (associated with NP elements, e.g. personal pronouns, generic terms such as *aparoni* ‘one’, *maaroni* ‘all’, *niNkarika* ‘whoever’, numerals, and demonstratives); and *light* heads (clitics, distributive marker, classifiers).

PERSONAL PRONOUN

- (12) *Aviroka hatatsini antamiki, pamini vatsatsi avyaari.*

[**aviroka**]_{MC} [ha-t-atsi=**ni** aNtami-ki]_{RC} [p=amin-e vatsatsi a=v-ia=ri]_{MC}
you go-EP-STAT=**REL**forest-LOC 2S=look.for-IRR meat 1PL.A=eat-IRR=3M.O
 ‘You who will go to the woods, you’ll look for game for us to eat.’

INDEFINITE PRONOUN

- (13) *Arika inkimake ninkarika kantzimanintakiriri, irotaki intsatsinkaitakeri.*

[arika i=N-kim-ak-e **niNka=rika**]_{MC} [kantzima-niNt-ak-i=ri=**ri**]_{RC}
 when 3M.S=IRR-hear-PRF-IRR **who=COND** speak.badly-DIM-PRF-REAL=3M.O=**REL**
 [irotaki i=N-tsatsiNk-ai-t-ak-e=ri]_{MC}
 FOC 3M.A=IRR-behead-IMP.P-EP-PRF-IRR=3M.O
 ‘When he hears someone who is speaking badly of him, they will behead this person.’

DEMONSTRATIVE + BOUND PRONOMINAL FORM

- (16) *Osheki otenatzi oka kantavaitayetachari.*

[osheki o=tena-tz-i **oka**]_{MC} [kaNt-a-vai-t-a-ye-t-acha=**ri**]_{RC}
 much 3N-M.S=weigh-EP-REAL **DEM** be-EP-DUR-EP-DIST-EP-STAT=**REL**
 ‘This is heavy, this [thing] which has many colors.’
 NUMERAL+PRONOMINAL BOUND FORM

- (17) *Kantzimaintacha saikatsi apiteroite iminkitakinari.*

[kantzimaiNtacha saik-atsi=**Ø** **apite-ro-ite**]_{MC} [i=miNki-t-ak-i=na=**ri**]_{RC}
 nevertheless be.at-STAT=3N-M.O **two-NMZ-PL** 3M.A=put-PRF-REAL=1SG.O=**REL**
 ‘Though two [steel nails] remain, the ones that they inserted in my arm.’
 CLASSIFIER + BOUND PRONOMINAL FORM

- (18) *Osheki okisokitzi kityonkakitatsiri.*

[osheki o=kiso-**ki**-tz-i]_{MC} [kityoNka-**ki**-t-atsi=**ri**]_{RC}
much 3N-M.S=be.hard-CL:**small.round**-EP-REAL be.red-CL:**small.round**-EP-STAT=**REL**
‘They [the beads] are very durable [the ones] which are red.’
BOUND PRONOMINAL FORM

(19) *Yamakiro tasorinkantsi, yamakiro ovavisakotahaini.*

y=am-ak-i=ro tasoriNka-ntsi [y=am-ak-i=**ro**]_{MC}
3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=3n.m.O blessing-NMZ 3m.A=bring-PRF-REAL=**3n.m.O**

[ov-avis-ako-t-ah=ai=**ni**]_{RC}
CAUS-pass-APPL-EP-REGR=1PL.O=**REL**
‘He brought blessings and brought what will save us.’

5 Conclusions

Three relativization strategies are attested: (i) the relative markers =ri and =ni; (ii) the relative pronoun *tsika*; and (iii) paratactic. There is a continuum of headedness of RC; headedness of RC is gradient. This observation applies to other Kampan languages (e.g. Nanti (Michael 2008)).

FIGURE 1. Continuum of headedness of RC ranging from fully expressed NPs to reduced NPs (pronoun, demonstrative, and quantifier) to light heads (clitics) to headless

<i>Full</i>	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Zero expression</i>
	<i>Reduced</i>	<i>Light</i>
←		→
Noun	Pronoun Demonstrative Quantifier	Verbal person clitic Verbal person clitic + classifier

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